

AMERICA

WILL THE LATERAN TREATY SURVIVE IN POSTWAR ITALY?

Wilfrid Parsons

NEW HONOR FOR OUR LADY OF FÁTIMA

William A. Donaghy

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM : II

Benjamin L. Masse

INDEPENDENTS FIGHT WLB DIES REPORTS ON THE CIO



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SOUND
THE RETREAT

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AMERICA

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

APRIL 8, 1944

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WHO'S WHO

WILFRID PARSONS, a former Editor of **AMERICA**, formerly Dean of the Georgetown Graduate School and now Professor of Political Science at Catholic University, takes up the discussion of the Lateran Treaty where Father LaFarge left off (see **AMERICA**, February 26). Father Parsons' article is concerned with the attitude of the postwar Italian government, and other postwar governments, toward the agreement. . . . **BENJAMIN L. MASSE**, an Associate Editor of **AMERICA**, contributes the second of a series of articles designed to acquaint the public with the Papal social Encyclicals, and the distinction between Economic Liberalism and true economic justice. The final article will follow in an early issue. . . . **WILLIAM A. DONAGHY**, formerly of the **AMERICA** Editorial Staff, tells the little-known story behind the recent unveiling of the painting of Our Lady of the Rosary of Fátima—a story which rivals the dramatic miracle of Lourdes. Father Donaghy, who has been continuing his studies at Auriesville during the past year, is at present on leave for special Lenten service. . . . **J. A. L.** is a Washington newspaper man who has made a special study of the conflict between the Big Two and the independent unions over representation on the War Labor Board. . . . **SISTER FRANCES TERESA**, who deduces the personalities of authors from the dedications of their books, teaches at Nazareth Academy, Rochester, New York. Holder of a B.A. degree from Canisius College, Buffalo, she has taken graduate work at Fordham University. . . . The final instalment of the discussion of "things that do not matter," by **JOHN LOUIS BONN**, will appear next week.

Ref

COMMENT ON THE WEEK

They Speak By Silences? Mr. Churchill had the ear of the world for fifty minutes on Sunday, March 26; but the world did not hear what it so eagerly listened for—a statement on Allied postwar policy. While it may seem a little captious to criticize Mr. Churchill for a speech he did not make, the criticism is justified by the fact that two days later the *New York Times* London correspondent, Raymond Daniell, sent a long dispatch discussing with an air of conviction and authority just those things which the Prime Minister had left unsaid. And when one takes into account the fact that the dispatch had to pass the official censorship, the anomaly is even more striking. It is bad enough that Americans should feel that they must turn to the British Prime Minister for information that they might reasonably expect to receive from their own President or State Department; but when both British and American State Departments seem to play second fiddle to a newspaper correspondent—however well-informed and responsible—the situation is no longer amusing. Weighing the portentous words of the dispatch, it was hard to avoid the suspicion that the British and United States Governments may be allowing to leak out “unofficially” what they do not dare to admit officially, the risk that the Atlantic Charter may be abandoned.

Sound the Retreat. The Eastern Provinces of Poland, says Mr. Daniell, are “now conceded to be hopelessly lost to Russia.” Russia’s “absorption of the Baltic States and the incorporation of eastern Poland . . . have been tacitly accepted.” What language is that to use of a country which has subscribed to the Second Article of the Charter, thereby renouncing “territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned”? We may tacitly accept what has been hopelessly lost in a Munich deal; but what is the hope that has been lost in this case, and why are two of the greatest Powers tacit about it? The genius of a Swift could scarcely be adequate to the historic irony of Mr. Daniell’s statement that “the British risked offending Russia by offering to act as an intermediary between Russia and Poland.” Do we risk offending Russia by speaking of the Atlantic Charter, by recalling the pledge of the Four-Nation Declaration that followed the Moscow Conference:

That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations . . .

Where do we stand, if Russia is to be offended when we take her word seriously? What did President Roosevelt mean, on Christmas Eve last, when he said that we were going to get on well with

Mr. Stalin and the Russian people? If Russia chooses to abandon the Atlantic Charter and go back upon the principles she has accepted in common with us, there is not much, under the circumstances, that we can do to prevent it. But Russia would find a cogent argument against such a course in a determined stand by Britain and ourselves for a workable world organization. We may not realize our own strength and bargaining power.

Annual Wage. There is much that is admirable about the United Steelworkers’ presentation of their case before the War Labor Board. They have openly announced their intention of breaking through the Little Steel Formula. That removes ambiguity and clarifies the situation. It should eliminate the danger of a settlement that would actually violate the formula, while technically adhering to it. They are presenting their case without bombast or rhetoric after a long, careful marshaling of facts and figures. The facts and figures will be challenged, but they will have to be challenged, as they have been presented, as cold, naked facts and figures. Win or lose, the Steelworkers will have done a service by their demonstration of dignity and responsibility in presenting their case. Win or lose, they will have left a challenge to industry that in the long run is far more important than the Little Steel Formula, the challenge of a guaranteed annual wage. There can be no question of economic security for workers, no freedom from fear or want, no release “from the hand-to-mouth uncertainty which is the lot of the poor,” until American industry faces the challenge. Is it a difficult thing to guarantee an annual wage? Undoubtedly, the most difficult problem that industry could have to face. Too difficult for American industrial initiative? We doubt it. If American industry can meet the challenge successfully, it will accomplish something before which all past achievements will fade. If it does not meet the challenge, American industry itself will fade.

Portal-to-Portal Pay. In June, 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act setting minimum wages and maximum hours for employees engaged in producing goods for interstate commerce. The work-week was set at forty hours, and the law stipulated that work beyond this limit must be paid for at the rate of time and one-half. The question subsequently arose whether, in computing hours of work, time spent by iron-ore miners in underground travel should be included. Attorneys for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, brought suit in 1940 before a Federal Court in Alabama to decide this issue. The Court decreed that the mine operators were bound under the Fair Labor Standards Act to include time so spent in

computing the miners' compensation. On March 27 the Supreme Court, by a seven-to-two vote, sustained this decision. Since the ruling is retroactive to the day in 1938 when the Wages and Hour Law went into effect, it is estimated that 6,000 Alabama ore miners will receive from their employers about \$2,000,000 added compensation. Meanwhile, speculation is rife as to the effect of this decision on the coal industry. If the iron-ore case sets a precedent for judging the portal-to-portal issue throughout the mining industry, then the nation's coal operators may be forced some day to pay members of John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers many millions of dollars in back pay. It was fear of this possibility which influenced some of the operators to agree to the portal-to-portal pay provisions in the bituminous coal contracts now pending before the War Labor Board.

Rome an Open City? German troops may no longer enter Rome, and supplies for the southern front no longer pass through the city, according to an announcement of the German Commander in charge of Rome. If this be true, it is a step in the right direction. The Allies, however, may reasonably ask for more evidence than is contained in an enemy statement. There are recognized neutral channels of communication and recognized measures of neutral supervision. In the midst of Rome is the Vatican City, with many neutral Ambassadors and Ministers. There is little doubt that the Allies would welcome the demilitarization of Rome. The destruction of the historic heart of Western civilization, and the great risks to the Vatican City involved in any military action around Rome presented the Allies with a tragic dilemma, in the supposition that the Nazis would make a stand in the Eternal City. We hope and pray—as all men of good will everywhere must hope and pray—that the German commander's announcement presages the end of the threat to Rome.

Italian Problems. According to recent reports, the Allied Military Government in Italy is having plenty of difficulty not only in weeding out Fascist officials, but in keeping them out when once weeded. Prior to either of these difficulties is the problem of determining just who are Fascists. Not everyone who lived under a Fascist regime is a Fascist. Not even every minor official of a Fascist regime is a Fascist. Not everyone who failed to join a Communist underground is Fascist, nor indeed every person who is accused by political or personal enemies. In the breakup of a regime and in a new struggle for place, accusations are bound to fly thick and fast, and it is the unenviable duty of the Military to listen to and pass on these accusations. A foreigner cannot in a few weeks reach infallible decisions. He must feel his way slowly and cautiously. If the Allied Military Government in Italy and elsewhere is to be successful, it must move carefully. It cannot turn the Government over immediately to the group that most loudly shouts its hatred of Fascism. It must give patriotic leadership, long suppressed, a chance to reassert

itself. In the meantime, the safest program is suppression of all proved Fascists, and towards all others prudence, patience, impartiality, firmness.

Diversified Europe. The difficulties our administrators are encountering in liberated Italy indicate that for success of our liberation policies we must keep in mind what Europe really is. Says the *Swiss Gazette de Lausanne*, one of Europe's oldest newspapers, in its issue for November 20, 1943:

Europe is not an immense and vague aggregation as, for example, Asia; it is an assemblage of national individualities, small and great. Each of them has a part to play in the common life of the Continent and they refuse to obey constraint. Europe, as has been well said, is to be measured not only by its surface but also by its depth.

Attempts, repeated numberless times in the past, to make Europe uniform have always failed. What the totalitarians are trying to do now and will love to do in the future, is bound also to fail, though at the cost of blood and agony. Those who insist upon the equal rights of small nations are paying tribute to this truth. We can serve Europe and we can heal it, but neither we nor any other major Power can hope to fashion it in any one given mold.

War Effort. A casual reader of some of our papers might easily gather the impression that the most important happenings in the world are three or four very unpleasant trials. There is an acute paper shortage. Little children have been mobilized in a paper drive. City trucks use up precious tires and precious gas in weekly salvage collections. Yet literally tons of paper have been wasted in describing in disgusting detail the Lonergan trial, the Chaplin trial, the Rother trial and a host of ripe divorce proceedings. Fathers of families are being drafted. There is renewed pressure for a labor draft to meet the rising demands of war plants. Yet newspaper photographers, reporters, publicity men can spend hours and hours picturing and portraying these details of American degeneracy. At the present time the country is worried, and rightly so, about juvenile delinquency. We blame the war. We blame parents. We blame social conditions, and with justice. Should we not begin to blame also the press that presents so eagerly, so vividly, so minutely every detail of every sordid case that comes along? The publishers' excuse is that the people want such stuff. Presumably, they will continue to publish it until millions of decent American mothers and fathers rise in a body and shout that they are sick and tired of it. The present is as good a time as any other to start the shouting. Parents may easily have a serious moral obligation to keep out of their homes papers that feature such stories.

Mental Ills. Between one-third and one-half of all the casualties returning from the fronts are suffering from mental or nervous illness. Most of them, if not all, are really heroic men who cracked under a strain that finally proved too much for them. All of them can and will be helped by expert care, by a release from the environment that brought about their breakdown, by rest, physical rebuilding and

patient understanding. Many will be cured. Some will be permanently affected by what they have gone through. Even today mental and nervous illnesses remain as much a mystery as the relationship between the soul and body. In recent years doctors have made wonderful progress in the diagnosis and treatment of these ills; but unfortunately most laymen, even intelligent laymen, have not yet come to regard a "nervous breakdown" as an illness that must be treated as expertly as a broken arm or an inflamed appendix. The word "crazy" has too many unpleasant connotations. A feeling of shame that a member of a family or a community should suffer a mental illness is often responsible for the failure to seek competent treatment until it is too late. Too many otherwise intelligent people believe that every nervous breakdown is mere lack of will power, a manifestation of a cowardly shrinking before the harsh realities of life. They glibly suggest that all that is needed is a "good talking-to." They would not attempt to treat cancer or a broken hip, but all too confidently they may undertake to advise, guide, counsel, "cure" nervous patients. These patients need the best of medical, psychiatric care in the very early stages of their illness. Unfortunately, there are too few trained Catholic psychiatrists and institutions where mental sufferers may receive the expert care that alone offers hope of cure.

Leacock's Pond. One of our hopes is gone. It was not a great, ponderous, world hope, but just a little thought like that excursion to the local Historical Society you have always planned and never acted on. We wanted to pay a visit to the late Stephen Leacock's fishing pond, first time we could get the gas for the trip. Believing his description—and why doubt it?—this was an ideal fishing pond. Nature smiled upon its tranquil surface. Civilization provided a boat and a boat-house, and in that boat-house you found all species of fishing tackle, all varieties of arm-chairs, and a special locker for the refreshment of Mr. Leacock's guests (warned, however, to go very, very easy). Only one thing was lacking: the pond contained no fish. But fishing, after all, may be a mood as well as a pursuit, and Leacock encouraged the mood. Professor Leacock's Ontario politics hooked some very angry fish of late in the form of comments by his French-Canadian fellow-citizens. But the politics will be forgotten and the world will continue to be grateful to the prolific genius who organized innumerable fishing trips over the waters of perennial humor.

It has been the practice of AMERICA to return all unaccepted manuscripts to their authors, whether accompanied by return postage or not. In view of the increase in the postal rates, it will be impossible to continue this practice, and in future only manuscripts accompanied by return postage will be returned. Other manuscripts will be held a reasonable length of time, to give authors an opportunity to inquire regarding the Editors' decision and send postage. After that, the manuscripts will be destroyed.

THE EDITOR.

UNDERSCORINGS

OSSERVATORE ROMANO, Vatican newspaper, commented thus on the execution of hostages in Rome:

Confronted with such facts, every honest soul in the name of humanity remains profoundly saddened. Thirty-two victims on one side, and three hundred and twenty sacrificed for the guilty who escaped apprehension on the other side. Yesterday we directed heartfelt appeals for serenity and calm. Today we repeat the same invitation, more ardently and with greater insistence.

► The Holy Father, despite persistent stories to the contrary, enjoys excellent health and, says the N.C.W.C. *News Service*, regularly pursues his normal activities.

► In Washington the Apostolic Delegate, Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, wrote an enthusiastic foreword for the new pamphlet entitled *The Holy Father Speaks to Newlyweds*. This brochure, put out by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, reproduces pronouncements of His Holiness to audiences of newlyweds during the year 1940.

► Speaking at the fifth annual Catholic high-school musical festival in Chicago, the Archbishop, Most Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, condemned "music which is inspired by dirty commercials" and pleaded for the "right kind of music" that "can send boys and girls into the world with a love for the beautiful."

► Brig. Gen. W. H. Wilbur of the Thirty-sixth Infantry Division, who has just returned from the Cassino front, revealed that our troops held their fire for five days before bombarding the famous monastery, "although the Germans occupying the Abbey were firing on us."

► Our soldier publication in British New Guinea, *Tropical Daze*, asks in an editorial:

Will we ignore the principal lesson of this war, which clearly points out that a nation and its peoples cannot forget God and still expect to be showered with His blessings or hope for the shield of Divine armor to protect them from the thrusts of the aggressive enemy? . . . Pray God that we do not, for only with a nation which realizes its place in world affairs, a people who understand their responsibilities to their fellow men, and serious-minded men and women anxious to serve their God and their country in peace as well as in time of war, will we ever attain the peace and happiness for which we are fighting.

► Twenty priests and lay brothers of the Trappist Order have begun to build the fourth Trappist monastery in the United States, according to the *Religious News Service*. The new foundation, near Conyers, Georgia, parallels those in Iowa, Rhode Island and Kentucky, and is an offshoot of the Gethsemani house in the Blue Grass State.

► Governor Simeon Willis of this same State has just signed a bill which permits counties to provide at their expense for transportation of both parochial and public-school pupils to their schools.

► The governments of Great Britain and Japan have accepted the services of the Vatican in dispatching relief to their respective civilian internees. A fund has been remitted to the Apostolic Delegate in Tokyo for this purpose, and the Delegate has visited Japanese internment camps.

THE NATION AT WAR

DURING the week ending March 27 the main fighting front has continued to be in Russia. The Germans are being driven out of the north and central sectors of the Ukraine, but are holding in the south.

Last week it was explained that there were three Russian forces taking part in this campaign. These are the First, Second and Third Ukraine Army Groups. The First Ukraine is engaged in a double advance. One is seeking to advance westwards into south Poland, but is not making much progress. The other is headed southwards into Bukovina and north Rumania. This has made a rapid advance and has reached the boundaries of Rumania.

The Second Ukraine is advancing westwards across Bessarabia into Moldavia, another Rumanian province. This Russian command is beginning to meet some strong opposition.

The Third Ukraine is 150 miles in the rear, being held by German resistance on the Bug River. It has tried for a week to cross this river, but has not succeeded, despite some hard fighting.

It now seems that the new German line in the south will be along the Carpathian Mountains. This is an exceedingly rough chain. In 1914 and in 1915 the Russians lost countless men in vain attempts to force a path over these mountains.

From a military point of view mountains are the best kind of territory for a defense—far superior to a river line. Our experiences in Italy are an indication of what German troops can do under circumstances which favor them. At the south end of the Carpathians the line will probably be the Siret and Danube Rivers.

All together, this will be a strong defensive line, substantially the same as in the last war, when it worked. Hungarian and Rumanian troops are to be used as much as possible, enabling some German divisions to be made available for duty in the west part of Europe. The Germans hope that to protect their own countries their two allies will do everything possible to prevent further Russian advances.

In southeast Asia slow progress is being made in the three battle areas. In the north, American and Chinese troops have pushed the Japanese back a number of miles ahead of the gangs building the new Ledo road.

In the south, along the coast, the British have made a small advance. In the center, the Japs have advanced across the Burma border into the Indian state of Manipur, but only for a short gain. It is yet too early to determine how this enemy offensive will turn out.

In Italy, there has been no important fighting except at Cassino. This village of some 7,500 people was first attacked at the end of January. By this time most of this small place is held by the Allies. The Germans hold the west edge, and part of the south section. They also hold dominating hills just beyond. After two months of repeated efforts and much bombing and shelling, the Germans are yet holding out and hitting back with surprising vigor.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

THERE was a curious unanimity among the commentators writing out of Washington to the effect that the second part of Winston Churchill's broadcast speech of March 26 had nothing to do with this country. It will be remembered that the first part of this speech was one of the Prime Minister's famous reviews of the war, and that the second part was a preview of postwar reconstruction at home.

On the face of it, that is, unless we realized what Mr. Churchill was really trying to do, this second part was merely an appeal to British voters for support. But the Prime Minister was speaking on the eve of Britain's greatest war effort, when her soldiers were most in need of moral support, of courage and hope. What greater way could this be done than by assuring the British soldier that he was coming back after the war to a country where his home and family, its health and housing, were to be amply taken care of by a grateful country, and that the plans for this promise were already well under way? He was giving him something intimate to fight for.

This is why there were many thoughtful people in Washington who felt that this second part of Mr. Churchill's speech had perhaps more significance for the United States than the first part. Many thousands of American soldiers will come back broken in body and health, and many thousands more will return to homes that are substandard by every known norm, or will be preparing to take up life again hopefully in houses that are not worthy of the men from foxhole and barracks.

Outside of Congress, whose mind is mostly filled with how much cash it can hand the returning soldier, the minds of many in the Government are turning to more substantial things. Figures which have been compiled show an appalling backwardness in decent housing in many parts of the country. It is very doubtful if the private building industry can be trusted, or will be able, to meet this almost catastrophic demand, at least for those in the lower income brackets. Yet, unfortunately, there is evident no definite planning against this dire need such as was revealed by Mr. Churchill.

As for health, there is, of course, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, with its provisions for national insurance. When the full figures from the physical examinations of Selective Service are finally revealed, I am assured that the country will be shocked into doing something about the low state of general health that will come to light. Insufficient food and bad housing (with its accompaniment of bad air, poor light, overcrowding, etc.) will account for a great deal, it is surmised, but a great effort will be made to show also that lack of proper medical care was the greatest contributing cause—in other words, that the present medical set-up has not worked.

The time has come to lift social issues out of party controversies and place them on a squarely non-partisan basis.

WILFRID PARSONS

WILL THE LATERAN TREATY SURVIVE IN POSTWAR ITALY?

WILFRID PARSONS

SOME weeks ago, in the issue of *AMERICA* for February 26, it was announced, in an article entitled *The Lateran Treaty Is Outside Power Politics*, that this writer would shortly deal here with the part the Treaty is likely to play in the changes brought about by the war. This article is an attempt to fulfil that engagement.

It is not necessary to remind my readers that the Lateran Treaty is an instrument contracted between the Holy See and Italy by which the independence of the Papacy was recognized as existing in a small territory of 160 acres within the limits of the city of Rome and officially called "The State of the Vatican City." In return for this recognition, the Pope made a perpetual renunciation of the rights the Papacy had exercised over the rest of the city of Rome for a thousand years.

Now it is important for an understanding of the future of this Treaty to remember that by signing it Italy did not *create* the independent sovereignty of the Pope. It recognized it, which is an entirely different thing. It then proceeded to make a treaty, called a *Concordat*, with the Vatican City as a co-equal sovereign power. I stress this point because even some Italian writers recently seem to have imagined that Vatican City is a unilateral creation of Italy and that hence Italy could rightfully put an end to it, if it wished; or that since 1929 Vatican City has been a sort of Protectorate of Italy, or even of the Fascist party, either of which had therefore some peculiar rights to a certain control over it.

It was necessary, of course, for the Holy See to make its treaty of sovereignty with Italy as a nation concerning its independence, because its territory lay wholly within Italy's capital city, Rome, and because up to that time the Pope himself had never ceased to claim Rome as his own capital city, as it is his diocese as a Bishop. By the Treaty the Papacy simply emerged into the realm of international law as an independent sovereign in a small part of the territory it had formerly had, and this, by virtue of recognition of the fact by the only country immediately concerned.

Thus we can see why neither the Pope nor Italy could accept an international guarantee of his independence. This would have further limited the essential sovereignty which it was the purpose of the Treaty to declare. It would have made Vatican City, not independent, but a sort of mandate. As it happened, the Pope's independence of other na-

tions is just as sound in his internal and external relations as are those of any other nation.

Now all this is extremely important in any speculation we may make about what is going to happen to Vatican City after the war. No matter what government controls Italy then, it will have no rights in international law over Vatican City by virtue of the Lateran Treaty. As soon as the Treaty was signed, the Holy See became in a special way immediately independent of it. Henceforth no Italian Government had any rights over it, any more than a person might have over a piece of property he has sold to another. Not that Vatican City was the result of a bill of sale, but the same element—the new owner's exclusive rights thereafter—exists in the Treaty, and there is no way by which the other party can come into possession again except by unjust aggression or by a new Treaty. The Lateran Treaty, once signed, ceased to govern the independent status of the Holy See.

This is the fact that must never be lost to view. As a matter of fact, even the Leftists who are now making preparations to resume political activity in Italy are agreed that, whatever else happens, the Treaty will stand. In their writings they do not show any particular signs of understanding what the Treaty actually did, but they do seem to glimpse the fact that it will be prudent to let Vatican City alone.

The reasons for this prudence are twofold. In the first place, the interests of the Catholic Church all over the world and, in the second, the interests of every country in which there are Catholics, make it necessary that the Pope reside in an independent territory.

As far as Catholics everywhere are concerned, it must always appear that the regulations and decisions which proceed from the Holy See are not motivated by any nationalistic bias. Once the suspicion arose that what the Pope told us to do in the Church was caused by his being an Italian, or any other national, his spiritual authority would be immensely impaired. For this spiritual authority it is supremely necessary that it be known everywhere and immediately that the Pope speaks as a universal man and not as a subject or citizen of any country. That is why he must reside in an independent territory.

The need is equally paramount for the governments of all countries in the world where Catholics are citizens. These countries are sure to be in-

involved, in the future, in matters which concern Italy. It is certainly to their interest, and they have the right to demand, that Italy do not claim any suzerainty over the Pope as if he were a citizen of Italy or head of an Italian Protectorate. This puts in a very peculiar position those Italian agitators in the United States who are making it appear that they think that the Lateran Treaty still gives Italy some right to decide on the independence of the Holy See. Our own State Department, representing the President, might very well interest itself in this situation; for certainly it must become an element of our foreign policy—as it must be of other countries—that in our own interest the Pope be independent.

All of this has a special importance for the United States. In the nature of things, it is inevitable that another Catholic will sometime be eligible for election as our President. In that event, which we must regard as a matter of course sooner or later, the independence of the Pope will be of great importance. It will no longer be possible to say that Catholics owe allegiance to a foreign potentate. The very infinitesimal size of Vatican City will make that ridiculous on the face of it. It was a part of the great foresight of Pius XI that, in emphasizing the purely spiritual mission of the Papacy by restricting its independence to so small a territory, he made it forever impossible for anybody to say without stultifying himself that the Papacy, or any Catholic owing spiritual obedience to it, could have any ulterior political aims, contrary to the supernatural and sacramental mission of the Church to individual souls. History may record that Al Smith ran a year too soon.

What of the international position of the Pope as an independent sovereign? This was much discussed at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1929. It was recognized, of course, that by Article XXIV of the Treaty the Papacy declared as a matter of policy that

it wishes to remain, and will remain, extraneous to all temporal disputes between states, and to international congresses, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission, reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power.

On this question it is well to recall an article which was written in 1929 in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit review in Rome whose Editor, Father Enrico Rosa, was very close to Pius XI and frequently spoke in his name:

For a similar reason it [the Holy See] has never agreed, nor will it ever agree, to enter the League of Nations, however inspired this body might be by the reasonable and Christian purpose of bringing peace among nations. This would be true if for no other reason than that, being by its nature supranational and universal, the Church could never consent to one of the conditions for entering the League, namely, to take part in war and other punitive sanctions against transgressor nations.

As I wrote in *AMERICA* for November 28, 1942: "The modern Papacy has consistently refused to take any direct part in purely secular and political matters, and it will no doubt continue to do so. The only exception to this rule is the one stated in the treaty: when both parties to the dispute ask

it in as an arbitrator. It is highly improbable that the Holy See would even consider taking part in a peace conference. For zealous souls to urge that it do so might seriously compromise the 'moral and spiritual power' on which it sets such high store." Since the Pope's children are also included among the guilty nations, it is easy to conceive the difficulties in which he would be placed as a spiritual leader did he have to join with other Powers in exacting reparations from them. Even in questions where the Pope, absolutely speaking, would have a right to speak, prudence can dissuade his participation.

In the next Peace Conference, if there is any, I deem it pretty certain that some kind of international organization will follow the peace agreements that are made. It seems to me that it denotes a complete misunderstanding of the Pope's spiritual mission to demand that he take part in the conferences that put an end to the war or to the agreements that will result from them. For Catholics in this country to agitate for something which the Pope would himself not demand would be a severe handicap to the action which the Pope could otherwise well undertake—the preaching of the social gospel of Christianity as the salvation of mankind, which is an influence that would not be marred by any purely secular manipulations by politicians.

Intimately connected with the matter of the Treaty is the question of the *Concordat*. The latter is a treaty between Italy and the Holy See regulating in advance most matters which might possibly be in dispute between them in the religious field. Whether it will survive the war depends entirely on the kind of government Italy gets then. A Communist-dominated regime is not likely to respect either the Treaty or the *Concordat*. The Italian Republicans are talking as if they would respect the Treaty but abolish the *Concordat*. A coalition of Liberals and Democrats, including the Christian Democrats, would most likely retain both the Treaty and the *Concordat*, but as a matter of practical politics might ask for modifications of the latter. In that event there is no reason for believing that the Pope would not consent to reopen it.

In this connection "separation of Church and State" is likely to get a new airing here and in Italy. But we must remember that separation can have two meanings: it might mean a state of separation existing from the beginning, as in the United States; or it might mean the act of separating. In the latter case, a great deal of injustice can be done where the external affairs of the Church have been intermingled for centuries with those of the State. As Don Sturzo has pointed out, there are many traditional and acquired rights that might be destroyed by unilateral action on the part of the State. The budgets of the churches and dioceses are an example. Separation is not so easy a thing as it might appear at first sight to people in this country. Done the wrong way, the wrench could be so violent as to menace even the stability of the State itself.

Another question intimately connected with

these is whether Italy will be, or can be, democratic. In this country Don Sturzo and Professor Salvemini are both talking of a postwar "democratic" Italy. But what Salvemini means by democracy is simply another form of totalitarianism, while Sturzo is presenting a notion of democracy which is not far from what we know by it.

If the Salvemini type wins out, it will be extremely difficult for the Vatican to cooperate with it, for it will not let the Vatican alone in purely spiritual matters. It will demand that the Pope's

spiritual subjects in Italy conform in their consciences to its own secularistic dogmas. It is doing that already. If the Sturzo type wins out, a rational collaboration is possible. The separate spheres of religious conscience and political citizenship will be recognized and, where these two overlap, the resulting conflict will be settled on a basis of objective justice. There is this difference between the two protagonists, that Salvemini speaks to Italy as a foreigner, having taken American citizenship, while Sturzo is still an Italian exile.

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

(Article II of a series)

ON May 15, 1931, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, Pius XI gave to a world cursed with economic depression and mass unemployment the magisterial Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*. It reaffirmed and in a notable way expanded Leo's doctrine on the "social question."

To those who had never fully accepted Leo's program for social reform or who had dismissed it as impractical, the Encyclical turned out to be a bitter disappointment. It was also a disappointment, although not, perhaps, in the same degree, to those who had hoped for a working alliance between Socialism and the Church. In solving the social problem, Pius said approvingly, His Predecessor "had sought help neither from Liberalism nor Socialism," for "the former had already shown its utter impotence to find a right solution of the social question, while the latter would have exposed human society to still graver dangers by offering a remedy much more disastrous than the evil it designed to cure." If Leo's teaching had not been so far in advance of his times, Pius XI lamented, it would have been more widely accepted by the timid and slow of heart.

Little did the late Holy Father realize that thirteen years after his death the same discouraging judgment would have to be pronounced on his own work! For *Quadragesimo Anno*, in the Spring of 1944, is still, alas, in advance of its times.

In the forty years which intervened between *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, the system of Liberalistic Capitalism had undergone a revolutionary change. While economists continued to reverence the gospel of Adam Smith and the Manchester School—although heretical voices were

being heard with increasing frequency in the shrines of Academism—leaders of big business, and the financiers who largely controlled them, had long since become skeptical about the virtues of competition and the automatic blessings of a free marketplace. If they still talked sturdily at banquets of initiative and enterprise, that was more a concession, perhaps, to the memories of their grandfathers than a description of their own activities; unless, of course, they had in mind the initiative involved in consummating an amalgamation, or the enterprise required to promote a trade agreement or to swing an international cartel.

Thus, while there remained, naturally, areas of fierce competition and other areas where industrial giants, and even whole industries, matched strength, the trend everywhere was toward administered prices and monopolistic controls. In a striking passage, Pius XI faithfully described this apostasy from the principles of *laissez faire*. It is somewhat long, but deserves to be quoted in full.

When We turn Our attention, therefore, to the changes which this capitalistic economic order has undergone since the days of Leo XIII, We have regard to the interests, not of those only who live in countries where "capital" and industry prevail, but of the whole human race.

In the first place, then, it is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are for the most part not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure.

This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body,

and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will.

The Pope went on to explain that this condition had resulted inevitably from the practice of unlimited competition, for such competition favors the survival of those who are strongest or who pay the least heed to the dictates of conscience. In other words, rugged individualism had destroyed free enterprise.

Pius XI's unsparing analysis and condemnation of pre-World War II capitalism—the end-product of Liberal Economics—irritated the same minority which, as in Leo's time, looked upon the modern industrial order "as the consequence of inevitable economic laws, and who, therefore, were content to abandon to charity alone the full care of relieving the unfortunate, as though it were the task of charity to make amends for the open violation of justice."

It also irritated those who felt that the Pope had no right, and no special competence, to deal with economic matters. "What," a Catholic capitalist once exclaimed to the writer, "does the Pope know about conditions in the United States? Perhaps this Encyclical, with that stuff about 'despotic economic domination,' applies to Britain, or Holland, or Germany. I don't know. But not here."

Alas for all such attempts to evade the uncompromising teaching of Pius XI. In the years immediately following the publication of *Quadragesimo Anno*, there appeared four major studies of the American economy which dotted every "i" and crossed every "t" in the Papal charge that free competition had ceded to economic domination. They amply substantiated the Pope's indictment of a system in which a few men wielded despotic economic power and the national income was inequitably and iniquitously distributed.

The first was the revolutionary study of Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, which proved that control of American corporations had become narrowly concentrated in the hands of non-owners. Examining the administration of our 200 largest non-banking corporations, they found that in 44 cases control was exercised by management, in 21 cases by some legal device, in 23 cases by minority control. In six cases corporations were privately owned. In only five cases did the majority of stockholders control the corporation they owned!

What economic power this placed in the hands of a relatively few people was demonstrated by the magisterial work, *The Structure of the American Economy*, prepared by the National Resources Committee, and by the monographs of the Temporary National Economic Committee. According to the National Resources Committee, the "200 largest corporations controlled in 1933 approximately 19 to 21 per cent of the national wealth, between 46 and 51 per cent of the Nation's industrial wealth, and approximately 60 per cent of the physical assets of all non-financial corporations." Since the figures for banking corporations and insurance companies reveal a similar concentration

of control, and the whole structure is criss-crossed by interlocking directorates, it is clear that the Pope's words on economic domination, and his condemnation of it, apply literally to the United States.

The same must be said of his criticism that national income has been badly distributed, too much of it going to capital in the form of interest and dividends and too little of it to workers in the form of wages. In a study of the distribution of the national income in 1929, *America's Capacity to Consume*, the Brookings Institution, a research organization favorably disposed to the "American system of free enterprise," showed that 20 million families, constituting 70 per cent of the population, had incomes in that classically prosperous year of \$2,500 a year or less. Sixty per cent of these families were below the \$1,500 level. Equally significant was the reverse side of the picture. Some 2 million families, about 8 per cent of the population, enjoyed incomes of \$5,000 a year or more; and two-thirds of the total savings that year were made by the two per cent of the population which had annual incomes in excess of \$10,000. A study made by the National Resources Committee of consumer income in 1935-36 revealed that this maldistribution had persisted. One-fifth of the people with incomes of \$1,925 and over received about as much as the other four-fifths. Despite our vaunted high standard of living, it is obvious that our pre-war capitalistic system was corroded by injustice and fully merited the strictures of *Quadragesimo Anno*.

But, the reader may ask, what has all this to do with Economic Liberalism?

The answer is that, contrary to appearances, it has a great deal to do with it.

When Pius XI said that economic domination, and not free competition, was the ruling principle of modern industrial life, he knew nevertheless that the Liberal heresy continued to infect the thinking of many businessmen and to govern their actions. By one of those strange inconsistencies of which human beings, in pursuit of gain, can easily be guilty, certain business leaders persisted in holding to freedom of contract (which supposedly justified opposition to labor unions) and non-interference by the State (except by request and in their favor) long after the marketplace had been subjected to controls, and free competition, as the textbooks described it, had been abandoned.

In fact, the emphasis on rugged individualism in post-prandial oratory and business publications seemed to increase in direct proportion to the decrease of free enterprise in American business practice. After a decade of growing economic concentration and control, a New York bank, during the administration of Herbert Hoover, actually republished Macaulay's century-old attack on Government interference in business. Since the doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism has never been expressed more mellifluously, the following excerpt from the lyricist of Liberalism is reprinted here:

Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the people by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties—by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price.

industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment—by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the State. Let the Government do this—the people will assuredly do the rest.

The fact that these sentiments—or rather some of them—could continue to be echoed, despite the 1929 crash in Wall Street and the subsequent debacle, wherever businessmen met, showed that key Liberal doctrines had been carried over into the new age and were being used to strengthen economic despotism and place it beyond the range of effective social control. Because he realized this, Pius XI renewed and amplified Leo's condemnation of Economic Liberalism.

Referring to the opposition aroused by *Rerum Novarum*, the Pope lauded his Predecessor for attacking boldly and overthrowing "the idols of Liberalism," and for ignoring "long-standing prejudices." This action of Leo, His Holiness significantly proposed as the reason why *Rerum Novarum* "was looked upon with suspicion by some, even amongst Catholics, and gave offense to others." Point by point he reiterated and expanded the teachings of *Rerum Novarum* on wages, on labor unions and other economic groups, on the social aspect of property and the duty of the State to act positively in the economic sphere. If anything, *Quadragesimo Anno* is a more devastating anti-laissez-faire document than *Rerum Novarum* itself.

Since the emphasis among capitalists had shifted from free competition to freedom of contract and freedom from State interference, Pius XI concentrated his attack on these shibboleths.

Against freedom of contract, the Holy Father staunchly defended the natural right of workers to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. He even suggested that it would be a good thing if the wage contract were modified by a partnership arrangement which would give to labor a share in the ownership or management or profits of business. And he reminded employers that a just wage is a family living wage, and that an economic system which provided less was badly in need of overhauling.

With regard to the State, he insisted that "the civil power is more than the mere guardian of law and order," and "that it must strive with all zeal," in the words of Leo XIII, "to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, should be such as of themselves to realize public well-being and private prosperity." He praised governments which, as a result of *Rerum Novarum*, became more conscious of their obligation to see that justice is done to the working class and "to promote a broader social policy." He commended the new social legislation of the "Twenties and the work of the International Labor Office. He said flatly that both free competition and the economic despotism which displaced it must be curbed and ruled by the State. "When we speak of the reform of the social

order," he explained, "it is principally the State we have in mind."

Not that the Pope hoped for all salvation from State intervention, or approved of the excessive bureaucratic regulation which characterized such a government as that of Fascist Italy. Like his Predecessor, he wanted many details of economic life to be handled by organized economic groups, but since such groups had been destroyed by individualistic capitalism, the State, pending a more rational organization of economic life, was bound to intervene for the purpose of protecting the common good.

In short, if Leo overthrew "the tottering idols of Liberalism," Pius XI may be said to have trampled them in the dust.

NEW HONOR FOR OUR LADY OF FÁTIMA

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

SUNDAY, March 26, witnessed the unveiling, at the Commodore Hotel, New York, of a new painting of Our Lady of the Rosary of Fátima, done by the Hungarian artist, M. A. Rasko. Archbishop Spellman and other dignitaries, ecclesiastical and lay, attended the ceremonies which inaugurated a "national crusade" by the Catholic clergy and laity to increase devotion to Mary, through the Rosary. Lay leader of the Crusade is the Hon. Alfred E. Smith.

The new canvas will be presented to Pope Pius XII when the current confusion subsides sufficiently. And that fact, along with the launching of the Rosary Crusade, climaxes a series of dramatic events beginning back in 1917.

On May 5 of that year, Benedict XV, looking out from his watch-tower on the Vatican, saw a world locked in war, exhausted, bled almost white. Like Pius V who, almost four centuries previous, had organized a second front of prayer to support the Christian fleet at Lepanto, Benedict XV called for a worldwide crusade of prayer to Our Lady Mediatrice of all Graces to avert the destruction which was engulfing the earth.

Scarcely more than a week later, on May 13, his cry of agonized prayer was spectacularly answered. Three children—Lucy, ten years old; Francisco, nine; and his sister, Jacinta, six—were tending sheep in Cova da Iria, a district of the parish of Fátima in the Ourem Vicariate of Portugal, some sixty miles north of Lisbon. About noon, the three recited the five decades of the Rosary and then began to play until they were startled by a flash of lightning which leaped without warning from the dry and cloudless sky.

Hurriedly they herded their flock together to avoid the storm, but they had not gone far towards home when another tongue of lightning arrested them and they saw before them a Lady of surpassing beauty. The only possible flaw in her loveliness was the shade of sorrow which fell across her face; from her hands hung a Rosary.

She told the children that she was from Heaven and asked them if they were willing to be victims of reparation for the sins of the world and victims of supplication for the conversion of sinners. They expressed their willingness and she assured them that though they would suffer much, special graces would comfort and sustain them. She urged them to the continual recitation of the Rosary, asked them to be at the same place on June 13, and disappeared.

The sufferings which she had foretold began at once for the children. Their story was received with incredulity and scorn, but neither derision nor whipping could ruffle their calm certainty. About sixty people accompanied them to their rendezvous with the other world on June 13 and, though the Vision and the Lady's voice were withheld from the onlookers, they remarked a discernible dimming of the sun.

Persecution of the children was intensified after this second visitation, but curiosity impelled some 5,000 spectators to go with them to Cova da Iria on July 13, the date which the Lady had designated for the third meeting. She again appeared and continued the revelations she had made to them in the first two appearances. The crowds standing around noticed the darkening of the sun again and they perceived a white cloud which enveloped the shepherds during their miraculous interview.

Liberalism was militant in the Portugal of that day, and the secular press butchered the three children to make a Liberal holiday. Their own parish priest had been unsympathetic, and ecclesiastical authorities were maintaining prudent silence until sufficient evidence had been provided them for a sound decision. So the children, utterly defenseless, were at the mercy of Le Ferblantier, administrator of Fátima, a frenetic anti-clerical. He questioned them and their parents, tried to force retractations, threatened torture and death; but the three children remained steadfast. Finally he imprisoned them in his house and kept them there over the fifteenth of August, the date on which they were to meet the Lady for the fourth time. When they were released and had returned to the fields and their flock, she appeared to them once more on August 19.

Twice more did she come to them. On September 13, there were 30,000 witnesses assembled and they saw a luminous globe pass across the heavens, the white cloud in which the children talked to the Lady, and a downfall of white flowers which disappeared as they approached the ground. Again, on October 13, 70,000 people jammed the roads to Fátima and Cova da Iria for on that day the Lady had promised a "great miracle." They did not see the Lady but, at a cry from one of the children, all looked up at the sun. It was a dull silver not

intolerable to the naked eye and, as they watched, it began to spin like a great wheel and to radiate beams of colored light. Three times the cowering crowd watched this phenomenon; then, sick with terror, they beheld the sun apparently dashing towards them in headlong precipitancy. Suddenly it stopped and resumed its normal place and appearance.

This is the account of the Fátima revelations. In the year of the apparitions, the diocese of Leiria, in the confines of which these supernatural events took place, was formally erected. Immediately the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon ordered a searching investigation. Not until 1930 did Bishop José Alves Correia da Silva of Leiria issue a Pastoral in which, after a lengthy resumé of the evidence and the investigation, he declares that the visions are "worthy of credence" and officially permits "devotion to Our Lady of Fátima." More impressively still, the Pope who, as Goethe said, "sees the small as small, and what is great as great" has given unmistakable signs of approval. On October 31, 1942, at the closing of the celebrations to commemorate the apparitions at Fátima, Pius XII consecrated the whole world and Russia to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The Lady of the Apparitions had requested the three children that this be done.

Witnesses, confirmatory prodigies and official approbations cannot be dismissed lightly with what Belloc calls the "circular" contention that such a thing did not happen because it could not happen, nor the convenient rationalism of the man in Chesterton's story who blots out an inexplicable fact with a withering sneer at objectivity: "This just can't have happened."

What, then, was the message which Our Lady gave the three children at Fátima, "the Holy mountain," as Pius XII calls it, and "oasis full of faith and piety"? As we have mentioned, she urged constant recitation of the Rosary. In the second apparition she commanded the children to add the following prayer after the "Glory be to the Father" of each decade: "O my Jesus, forgive us our sins, deliver us from the fire of Hell, and give relief to the souls in Purgatory, especially the most abandoned souls." In her third visit, Our Lady again urged the Rosary as a means of bringing the war to an end, adding: "Only the intercession of Our Blessed Lady can obtain this grace for mankind." Moreover she counseled the children:

Sacrifice yourselves for sinners and say this prayer very often: "O Jesus, I offer this for the love of Thee, for the conversion of sinners, and in reparation for all the wrongs done to the Immaculate Heart of Mary."

This charitable obligation of making reparation for sinners was repeated and reinforced and Our Lady reminded us all that many go to hell because there is no one to do penance for them. She strongly warned all the faithful to amend their lives and she identified herself as "The Lady of the Rosary," so dear to anyone who knows of Lourdes or Pontmain, Lepanto or Vienna.

Besides requesting that a Church be built in her

honor and that the world be consecrated to her Immaculate Heart, Our Lady also established the devotion of the "Five First Saturdays." She showed her heart surrounded by thorns to Lucy, the shepherdess, and said that it was the blasphemies and ingratitude of men which placed the thorns there. She asked that those who love her would console her and made a remarkable promise:

... Tell them that I promise to help at the hour of death with the graces needed for salvation, whoever, on the first Saturday of five consecutive months, shall confess and receive Holy Communion, recite five decades of the Rosary and keep me company for fifteen minutes while meditating on the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, with the intention of making reparation to me.

Here, then, was the background of the picture unveiled in the Commodore Hotel, Sunday, March 26. It will eventually be presented to the Holy Father, and that has special appropriateness and significance. It was on May 13, 1917 that Our Lady first appeared at Fátima; it was on May 14, 1917, that Eugenio Pacelli became a Bishop; it was on October 31, 1942, the year of his episcopal silver jubilee, that the same Bishop Pacelli, now Pius XII, read an act of Consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary in obedience to the request of the Lady of Fátima.

DIES COMMITTEE REPORTS ON THE CIO

AFTER a period of relative inactivity, the House Committee to Investigate Subversive Activities—more familiarly known as the Dies Committee, after its Chairman, Representative Martin Dies of Texas—hit the front pages last week with a long 215-page report on the CIO Political Action Committee. The Report charged in substance that the Political Action Committee represents a "subversive Communist campaign to subvert the Congress of the United States to its totalitarian program." This accusation it supported as follows:

1. The "political views and philosophy of the Communist Party and of the CIO Political Action Committee coincide in every detail."
2. Eighteen members of the 49-man CIO Executive Board, which set up the Political Action Committee, follow undeviatingly the Communist Party line. Twenty-one CIO unions have "strongly entrenched" Communist leadership.
3. The Political Action Committee is circulating a voting chart—similar to one disseminated by the Communists—which condemns the voting records of an "overwhelming majority" of the members of the House.
4. Since a "majority" of CIO unions have "Communist leadership," John L. Lewis' recent statement that President Philip Murray "has got to play ball with the Communists now, or die" is justified.
5. Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO Political Action Committee "has entered a coalition with Communists."

While conceding the right of "organized labor to

engage in political campaigns," the Committee denounced what it called the CIO's "tyrannical taxation" of rank-and-file unionists "without representation." The CIO, said the Report, is using "its coercive powers over its members to compel them to follow its political dictates."

In view of the serious nature of this sweeping indictment of one of the nation's leading economic groups, the following commentary may contribute somewhat to the formation of a just and objective judgment.

A. History and Purpose of the CIO Committee. On July 7, 1943, at a special meeting in Washington, the CIO Executive Board voted to establish the Political Action Committee. President Murray thereupon designated Sidney Hillman, Chairman; Van A. Bittner, Vice-Chairman; R. J. Thomas, Secretary. In addition, Sherman Dalrymple and Albert J. Fitzgerald were appointed members of the Committee, and David J. McDonald was named alternate to Mr. Bittner.

The general motive for this action was labor's recognition "that the gains which it wins through economic action can be protected, implemented and extended only if it develops a progressive program of legislation and secures its enactment through effective participation in the political life of the Nation." The specific motive was the "deplorable record of the 78th Congress," which "has brought sharply home to labor the dire results of its political apathy in 1942."

At the Sixth Constitutional Convention in November, the nearly 600 delegates present unanimously ratified the action of the Executive Board. They agreed that "it is definitely not the policy of the CIO to organize a third party, but rather to abstain from and discourage any move in that direction." They adhered to labor's traditional policy of rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies regardless of their party affiliation. Besides mobilizing organized workers, it was decided to try to "stimulate and rally broad non-labor groups and help give effective political voice to millions of farmers, consumers and other progressives in every walk of life."

The national activities of the Political Action Committee are financed by contributions from the affiliated Internationals; the local activities by the local unions. These contributions have been made in various ways. In some cases, the various International Executive Boards, in accordance with their Constitutions, voted the requested sums. In others, the International officers called upon the union membership for voluntary contributions. Thus the financing of the Political Action Committee, like its establishment, has been carried out according to the principles of representative democracy as enshrined in the Constitutions of CIO affiliates.

Up to date, the activities of the Committee, which has been broadened to include non-labor representatives, have been mainly educational. It is presently making a nation-wide attempt to persuade voters to register for the coming elections, to study the issues, to review the records of their

Representatives in Congress and other candidates. Eventually, the Committee will make recommendations, but it is understood that CIO members, like other American citizens, are free to disregard these recommendations and vote as they see fit.

B. Communist Domination. The Dies Committee has correctly stated the number of undeviating followers of the Communist Party line on the CIO Executive Board. It is likewise correct in asserting that twenty-one CIO national Unions are Communist-dominated, although many of the locals in these Unions are headed by non-Communists. The charge, however, that Communists dominate the CIO and the Political Action Committee is false.

The anti-Communists on the CIO Executive Board, as even the figures used by the Dies Committee show, have a comfortable majority. A recent editorial in the *Wage Earner*, official organ of the Detroit Chapter of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, justly appraises the situation.

All these Communist-tainted unions combined do not carry in voting strength more than a small fraction of the weight of the United Automobile Workers, the United Steelworkers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers—to mention only three huge unions not controlled by the CP. . . . Voting in the CIO Conventions and the CIO Executive Board is according to per capita tax paid. . . . Phil Murray has clashed with the Communist Party repeatedly in the CIO Executive Board and has always come out the victor by some millions of votes.

2. Not a single one of the six-man board which directs the Political Action Committee is a Communist. Five of them are known in CIO circles as active anti-Communists.

3. Similarity between the programs of the Communist Party and the Political Action Committee proves very little. As a result of the latest somersault, the Communist Party has emerged as a defender of Capitalism and a patriotic sponsor of national unity. The *Daily Worker* recently lashed out at Vice President Wallace for attacking Wall Street, but this is no indication that the American Banking Association has joined the C.P.

4. Sidney Hillman's alliance with the Leftists in the American Labor Party in New York is a special case and too complicated to explain here. It is not a pattern for the Political Action Committee's program outside of New York State. B. L. M.

WLB SEATS AGAIN

WASHINGTON has not heard the last of the so-called independent unions' demand for representation on the War Labor Board.

Their complaint is this: the AFL and the CIO hold all the labor seats on the board and presume to speak and vote for all American labor. (WLB's composition is: four public, four industry, four labor seats). Matthew Smith, of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America (MESA), master of scoff, scorn and sarcasm, thus views the existing order:

The labor members, of course, we found out, were our organizational enemies. They belonged to organ-

izations which had repeatedly pledged themselves to eliminate all so-called independent unions from the labor organizational field. So we did not believe that these labor people, brought up in the atmosphere of dog-eat-dog in the labor movement, were going to suddenly develop a fine streak of altruism and concentrate on seeing that MESA cases were judged impartially and without prejudice.

Smith's MESA claims more than 50,000 members. More than a year ago Smith sent out a call to other independents and formed the CUA (Confederated Unions of America). CUA reports 58 affiliates, most of them one-plant unions. Total membership is perhaps 250,000, although the claim is higher. Organized telephone workers outside the AFL and CIO claim their total is a half-million. The East Coast Alliance of Independent Shipbuilding Workers and a scattering of small unions represented by Henry Mayer, New York attorney, add up to a few thousand more. These are the articulate complainants. The larger independents, the United Mine Workers, Typographical, and Brewery Workers' unions, have not joined the clamor. Still others not heard from, excluding the "company union" variety, may bring the independent aggregate to 2 million, although claims as high as 4 million have been heard. The AFL and the CIO together claim more than 11 million, with the AFL in the ascendancy. The independent Railroad Brotherhoods are not involved because their cases go to another agency, the National Mediation Board. And incidentally, more than a million railroad workers in AFL unions are not directly concerned with the War Labor Board for the same reason.

Smith, of course, is looking for recognition for himself and his new movement. AFL and CIO opposition is understandable. They do not want their prestige and authority diluted.

Public members of the board took on the problem alone recently, with the "acquiescence" of the labor and industry members. They turned down the independents, offering instead some administrative and clerical appointments on the WLB staff, and possibly representation on hearing panels. The telephone workers and some others accepted the half-loaf, without forfeiting any claims, but Smith's CUA delegation angrily called it a "slap in the face" and promised reprisals, "political as well as economic."

The sharp-tongued Lancashireman who shut down forty-four war-vital plants early in February argues that when the independents lose a case before the War Labor Board, particularly a wage case, the membership gets a nudge from AFL or CIO organizers. His people are reminded, he says, that if they were in a union that was represented on the WLB, the decision in their case might have been different. He says the existence of these unions is at stake.

Smith cited only a couple of specific instances of this, and the board, labor members included, denounced the practice as "reprehensible" and promised quick action on any case brought to their attention. Still, this is Smith's most potent, practical argument, aside from the democratic principle of

representation. The difficulties of restraining over-zealous organizers and members from using the psychological advantages of their superiority are obvious.

Secretary of Labor Perkins regards the labor and industry members as "public officials" who were chosen because of experience and knowledge in their fields rather than as advocates of special interests. The WLB's vice-chairman, Dr. George W. Taylor, had a more cautious response to a question on that point. He, too, regards the labor members as public officials who are acting in the public interest, "as they see it." Probably not even the independents would dispute that. Taylor's modifying phrase is what the fight is all about.

Public members make the point that the independents have not complained of unfair treatment in any specific case. That line of attack would take the independents into interminable debate trying to prove black decisions should have been white. It seems to beg the question of democratic representation. The board's integrity is not under attack, even though a couple of Smith's tart remarks about the labor members might be so construed.

There may be some relevancy here in B. Franklin's rhetorical question to Parliament when the taxed but unrepresented colonists were astir: "Would the Commons like to have the Lords lay all the taxes on them, though they were to lay them ever so justly and equitably?"

The suggestion has been made that the public members exclusively sit in judgment on cases involving the unaffiliated unions. The public members gave this serious consideration but some of them, at least, object that this practice would exclude the employer representation.

The independents, too, would probably find that practice unacceptable, but for a different reason. It is a negative approach. AFL and CIO members would not sit on the independents' cases, but they would still be in position to advocate their own, while the same advantage is denied the independents.

Advocates of the *status quo* raise these principal objections to appointment of additional labor members: Labor outside the AFL and CIO is broken into too many units. It has not a single representative voice, or even a limited number of spokesmen. How would the independents' representatives on the board be chosen? Would a MESA man be satisfactory to the telephone workers? Would you name a printer or a brewery worker? Where would you stop? These are real problems which have disturbed well-meaning officials. No perfect cure presents itself. It would be impracticable to give a seat to every existing unit of labor. But a practical method of meeting the independents' principal objection to the *status quo* does present itself.

In the first place, a WLB member from the MESA could not sit on a MESA case, anyhow. That would contravene the War Labor Disputes Act. The most an independent union could expect is that the labor representatives judging its case shall not come from unfriendly unions, unions that

could be called "organizational enemies." The MESA could hardly object to a brewery worker. The telephone workers probably would not object to printers hearing their cases, and vice versa, so long as either can not legally hear its own. The law, as interpreted by the WLB, would not prevent a member of one CUA union from voting on a case involving some other CUA union.

It would be possible in this way to give practical representation to a half-dozen unions, or groups of unions, or even more, and still limit them to two seats, that is, two principal representatives. That is the way the present industry and labor representation works out. All the principal members have a minimum of one alternate and one substitute member each. Replacements are frequent and no formality attaches to replacement. Only the principals are presidential nominees. They seldom change, although some of these individuals seldom appear for board work.

On decisions of general policy, where a twelve-man board usually sits, a mathematical problem of dispersion would arise. Cases are frequently decided by six-man, or nine-man boards, but always there is an equal, three-way division of the public, industry and labor vote. On general issues before a twelve-man board, labor would still be limited to four votes. The AFL and the CIO probably would gag at giving two of those to the independents. There is the alternative of adding votes to the public and industry sides to meet temporary situations. That is not impracticable, now that the public members also have full-time alternates. Or general issues of policy could be left exclusively to the public members.

Independent-union representation has a precedent, although the situation was not precisely analogous. Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers did not resign his board membership for six months after his union formally withdrew from the CIO.

The whole fuss spotlights the weaknesses of labor's divided house. If the AFL and CIO did not fight so much between themselves, their position in the present controversy would be less vulnerable to attack by the militant independents. There is comfort in the situation for foes of the tripartite system, who may well say, if *all* labor cannot be represented, why any? Why not have public members only?

The independents are not through. The National Federation of Telephone Workers have taken to the radio. Matt Smith has called his executive board to meet at an early date. Of course, if hot-heads and extremists should interfere with war production, they would forfeit consideration of their demands. The public mood being what it is, they would probably alienate a good deal of support that otherwise they might find on their side.

Politically the independents are no more than a burr in the blouse of the Administration at the moment. But the burr has important potentialities and the Administration should not be surprised to see them fully exploited.

J. A. L.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

ALL the uncertainty and perplexity created by the Soviet Union's unilateral action with regard to Poland, followed by its recognition of the Badoglio Government, is but added evidence of the danger in delaying the concrete plans for the organization of the future peace.

"The hour is very late indeed," writes Sumner Welles in the New York *Herald Tribune* for March 29. "But one's imagination is staggered at what the result is going to be if the situation is not remedied and remedied at once."

The heart of any future peace is world organization—its principles, its motives, its structure. The Seven Point Pattern for Peace lays down squarely the principle: "An enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will a) develop a body of international law, b) guarantee the faithful fulfillment of international obligations . . . and . . . c) assure collective security," even to the use of sanctions.

Most timely, in the present uncertainty, and confirming the Pattern's attitude, is the release on March 26 of the report on the International Law of the Future drawn up by 200 judges, professors and officials of national and international experience who have met in thirty conferences over a period of two years.

The report offers a detailed plan for acting on the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, for "the establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security" through international organization. The reasoning followed through the course of the report starts from the central and thoroughly Christian idea:

The states of the world form a community, and the protection and advancement of the common interests of their peoples require effective organization of the community of states.

The law of the community of states is international law.

In order to make this community of states effective, the jurists lay down as their first proposal:

The Community of states should be organized on a universal basis. All states which exist or which may come to existence in the future should be included. No provision should be made for the expulsion or withdrawal of any state.

This does not exclude, however, regional organizations or groups. An Executive Council, carefully planned with adequate powers, and a Permanent Court of International Justice, a Permanent Court of Arbitration, together with the International Labor Office, complete the main outlines of their picture.

The problem we are now facing in long-term peace planning is not a matter of "idealism" vs. "realism." It is a matter of realistically recognizing, before it is altogether and catastrophically too late, the plain implications that lie in the existing world community of nations. The Moscow agreement for the establishment of a United Nations Executive Council should be effected at once.

EDITORIAL

GOOD FRIDAY AND

THE second world war and the myriad discussions it daily evokes serve only to emphasize the perennial tragedy of all human endeavor, the twin flaw that seems to mar every work of man—sin and death. No human ingenuity has been able to exclude the worm of evil that creeps in to gnaw and rot our bravest structures. Continually haunted by the desire for a perfect and peaceful world, we are haunted, too, by the memory of past Utopias crumbling through human sin and by the conviction that our best hopes are doomed to the same fate. And we are oppressed by the knowledge that even if we could at last reach *the* Utopia, the brave, new world of our dreams, it must be mortal, must end in death.

Twenty-five years ago we said: "No more wars." We hoped for an era of peace; and there was no peace. Today, as the risk of defeat lessens and the certainty of victory grows, the selfishness and the pettiness that had been frightened into quiescence by the thunder of arms begin to reassert themselves. Before we even begin to build a better world, the worm of sin crawls on the very plans.

The world tragedy is every man's private tragedy. He sees and approves the good; and he does the evil thing. His life is short and often bitter on this earth; as the old English king said, it is as if a bird should fly through the lighted banquet hall, out of the dark, into the dark.

The stout atheist can envisage all human history and all human life as the blind, remorseless march of unconscious matter; and can draw himself up in his pride and be indifferent to it all. The world may be futility, but he is master of his fate and captain of his soul. But the average man cannot support the hardships of life merely by striking poses at the universe. Nor is he much helped by the contemplation of the great men of old, the philosophers who rose above want and pain—he may admire Socrates, but Socrates is dead and can do nothing for him now. The average man is not a hero. It is all very well to say "Be brave!" But that does not make him brave, does not ease the smart, does not take away the loneliness of life, does not give meaning to it; and without some meaning in their lives men easily go mad.

AND EASTER SUNDAY

BUT Christ has come, and has brought with him the remedy for our evils. He brings not exhortation but exorcism. He brings what we so earnestly long for—the assurance that we can conquer sin and death. He does not merely ask us not to fear them; he has done battle with them and has conquered. He has weakened our enemies; and he can strengthen us. If he tells us to face the battle of life unafraid, he promises us at the same time a real, interior strength that not all the words of the stoics and philosophers can give.

That is the meaning of Good Friday and Easter Sunday. They are the anniversary of victory. They represent an historic fact, as true and as important as all our human failures. They remind us that our race has received a new birth, that it is not as it was before Christ's coming.

Christians are no less aware than their unbelieving brothers of the evil in this world. In fact, they are more aware; for they know the powers of darkness, the spirits of wickedness in the high places with whom we struggle. They have no illusions about building a Utopia here, for they seek a world that is to come. They see a meaning in this life of ours that is hidden from the unbeliever—what ultimate meaning, indeed, has this world for the unbeliever?

Christ has come and in His own blood has conquered sin; and has given us, if we will have it, the power to do the same. Christ has come and has gone down into the grave; and has returned to say to us that all is well. Every man born in this world knows that his body shall be sown in corruption and his flesh return to the earth whence it was taken. But he knows—for he has seen it in the Christ of Easter Sunday—that he will rise in incorruption.

This is the heart and soul of Christianity; this is the message of the Apostles, from the very day when Peter stood up to address his first audience in Jerusalem—Christ has died and is risen again, to take away our sins and to open for us the way to eternal life. The charity of Christianity, its teaching of kindness and good neighborliness, its regenerative function in human society—these are only barren exhortation unless they stem from the vital central facts of Good Friday and Easter Sunday.

STABILIZATION LAW UPHELD

TWO Boston meat dealers, Albert Yakas and Benjamin Rottenberg by name, sold cuts of beef above prices determined by the Office of Price Administration. Haled before a Court, they were found guilty, after a jury trial, of violating the law of the land by disobeying OPA regulations. Whereupon the Judge sentenced them to six months' imprisonment and assessed each a fine of \$1,000. On the ground that OPA's price-fixing activities involved an unconstitutional delegation of power by Congress and deprived them of their property rights without due process of the law, the defendants appealed to the Supreme Court.

On March 27, the Court handed down its eagerly-awaited opinion. By a vote of six to three, it denied the appeal and upheld the authority of OPA to set prices under authority delegated by the Congress. "Subject to the requirements of due process," wrote Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone for the majority, "which are here satisfied, Congress could make criminal the violation of a price regulation."

Dissenting opinions were entered by Justice Roberts and Justice Rutledge, the latter speaking for Justice Murphy as well as for himself. Justice Roberts argued that the war emergency did not excuse nullifying the Constitution, "either directly or stealthily by evasion and equivocation." This he held Congress had done by granting to the OPA Administrator sweeping power over prices without at the same time establishing adequate standards to guide and direct him. The provision in the Price Control Act for review of OPA decisions by the Emergency Court of Appeals, Justice Roberts belittled.

In a decision scarcely less far-reaching in its effects, the Court on the same day likewise upheld the Government's rent-control program.

A citizen of the State of Georgia, Mrs. Kate C. Willingham, had been ordered by the regional OPA rent director to reduce rentals on several apartments she owned in the city of Macon. On the grounds that Congress had made an unwarranted grant of legislative power to OPA, she refused to do so. When the case came before the Georgia Middle District Federal Court, the judge sustained the defendant in her refusal and approved the reason she gave for it. With the whole rent-control program thus at stake, OPA appealed this decision to the Supreme Court.

With only Justice Roberts dissenting, the Court sustained the appeal and reversed the Georgia court. Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority, contended that "there is no grant of unbridled administration discretion" in the power given OPA to fix maximum rentals. Obviously replying to Justice Roberts' argument that "the judgment of the administrator is, by this Act, substituted for the judgment of Congress," he wrote:

Congress chose not to fix rents in specified areas or on a national scale by legislative fiat. It chose a method designed to meet the needs for rent control as they might arise and to accord some leeway for

LITERATURE AND ART

SOME NOTES ON DEDICATIONS

SISTER FRANCES TERESA

THERE is something about a dedication in a book that puts me at once into a receptive mood towards the author. It is a "you come, too" note, making me feel at once that he who has inscribed his friends in compliment must be a very nice person indeed. It is somewhat like the "ego" in the essay whereby the essayist uncovers for us unknowingly his own merry heart, quaint tenderness, deep-felt gratitude and his elusive sense of "stilled singing." All this is stored up for the essayist even while it is shared. So it is with a dedication.

It is with a certain degree of reverence and awe that I open a new book. I am like a pilgrim, pausing and knocking at a monastery gate. I am a beggar wondering if I may have sustenance. And here I stand in solitude knocking. But the right dedication opens at once the door so that I know "the best solitude does not hide at all."

I turn a key; I find an author's heart and soul unlocked; I am rich, so rich that I must leave the door ajar to share with you my treasure.

Long ago I learned that the merit of a dedication does not depend on length. Chesterton's *Heretics*

To My Father

and his *Orthodoxy*

To My Mother

taught me so much about that father and mother. Edward Chesterton "knew all his English literature backwards." Here was a heretic for one to know. Somehow, long before I read the *Autobiography*, this dedication had made me know the man who was never an artist but rather an amateur who "made a vulgar success of all the thousand things he did so successfully." On the other hand, *Orthodoxy* was saying to his mother: "I am grateful for soundness of doctrine; you stand for things secure."

There was a time some ten years ago when the dedication in *Saint Thomas Aquinas* had me wondering.

To
Dorothy Collins
without whose help the author
would have been more
than normally helpless.

Normally helpless—the author of *Lepanto*, *The Ballad of the White Horse*, *Father Brown*, *Saint Francis of Assisi*! At once I wanted to know

Dorothy Collins; but I had to wait until Maisie Ward told me: "In 1926 came Dorothy Collins. Not only did she bring order out of chaos, but she became the very dear friend of Frances and Gilbert."

More easily and with more insight I had been able to interpret Joseph J. Reilly's

To

A. W. R.

in *Newman as a Man of Letters*. "A" must be "Alice" or "Agnes" or "Anna" thought I. *Who's Who in America* confirmed me—"married Anna May Walsh." Mere initials are eloquent when used by "a poet in prose," a "lover of books and of man." It is the right dedication, concise but "rich in second intentions."

Less fortunate have I been in establishing the identity of the dedicatee in William Thomas Walsh's *Philip the Second*:

To the memory of a valliant woman
Mary Walsh (McMahon) Healey
who taught me to love truth.

To me it is the woman of high courage and fortitude, the wife of Michael Walsh whose son William Thomas Walsh, Senior, received this tribute from his historian son: "He was one of the greatest men I have ever known."

Another dedication comes to mind—this time to the grandmother of a poet and philosopher:

To the memory of my grandmother,
a peasant,
Who could neither read nor write
And who first taught me
the French language.

It is Charles Péguy's inscription for his first poem. Whenever I think of this one-time atheist brought back to Catholicism by his devotion to Joan of Arc, I see in the distance the peasant grandmother. When she moves her lips, I hear an *Ave*. It was a spark of her dauntless courage, I believe, that after twenty years absence brought her grandson again to the Communion rail on the Feast of the Assumption, 1914. That very day, in the first battle of the Marne, Charles Péguy died. What a glorious reunion for poet and peasant!

Out of another war has come one of the loveliest dedications I have met to date. The author, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, became my friend in July, 1939, when I first read *Wind, Sand and Stars*. It was a time of "weightiest cares" when "each dawn and twilight became an event of consequence"

BOOKS

THE UNCONQUERED

REBELLION IN THE BACKLANDS. (*Os Sertões*.) By Euclides da Cunha. Translated by Samuel Putnam. University of Chicago Press. \$5

OS SERTÕES stands in Brazil today for two impressive facts. The book ranks first in the national literature. The area of the story holds the key to the national history.

In the backlands behind Bahia, just below the easternmost projection of the mighty Brazilian land mass, the village of Canudos witnessed a soul-rending civil war in the last years of the nineteenth century. Brazil has known several severe periods of warfare, the early struggles with the Argentines and Uruguayans, the great war against Lopez of Paraguay, and the several palace revolutions of more recent times. But Canudos means something more than political crises.

This rugged frontier settlement, as Euclides da Cunha tells us, aroused the one elemental conflict in the story of his country. Canudos represents the epic of blood—blood spilled, blood-fusion between aborigines, Negroes and descendants of the Portuguese. Gathered round a remarkable mystic of tremendous popular influence, Antonio Conselheiro, the backlands people formed a group whose life expressed the typical effort of all frontiers to survive and to prosper. They were independent, and to a degree different from the coastal populations and the inhabitants of the southern plains. Cemented by the enthusiasm and the directing skill of their "Counselor" into a clan, with tremendous resistance to outside control and no less fervor for their own personal way of living, they defied the demands of the central government to put down frontier outlawry.

A tyro regime at Rio de Janeiro sent expedition after expedition to reduce them to its will. No less than 100,000 soldiers made the attempt, and it did not reach success until every warrior of the 5,000 *Sertanistas* fell in death, the last of them into the grave that they had dug with their own hands.

From this unhappy story, da Cunha, who as an engineer of the military had a part in its decision, draws a moral which undoubtedly affects the thinking of his nation today. If his point were merely the learning of compromise in dealing with public problems, he has gained a great deal. But, genius that he is, he gives to Brazil and to all other peoples who read his story a profound study of the factors that deeply influence men's lives.

Os Sertões opens with a remarkable geographical account. Skirting the areas of his vast country, which is considerably larger than our own, the author turns his eye finally to the region lying just below the great bend of the Rio Sao Francisco. Parched, hot, rough and with little vegetation, it demanded heroic deeds of the settlers who would find a permanent home here, beyond the interference of the more conventional centers of life.

"Man" is his next topic, as in a long and earnest chapter he examines the sources of human conduct. The translator, whose splendid preface does honor to his understanding of Brazil and of its superb *littérateur*, points out the dependence of da Cunha on nineteenth-century ethnology and anthropology. That granted, one must admire the force and penetration of the picture there drawn of the backlands character. Nothing like it has been done in our country, though the material lies ready for an artist like to him.

The body of the book details the successive encounters of the national army with the stout, fanatical and brave *Sertanistas*. To a novice in the field, these battles may mean no more than the frays described in the immortal epic of Homer. It is the patient and careful reader who

will see and feel that turbulent struggle for victory in a cause whose finality challenges the depths of the human soul. Translator and publisher have done a fine service to the English-speaking world in this first-rate edition of *Os Sertões*. W. EUGENE SHIMLS

CANADA'S OLD CIVILIZATION

THE PAGEANT OF CANADIAN HISTORY. By Anne Merri-man Peck. Longmans, Green and Co. \$3

SOME time before the Pilgrim Fathers began passing the cranberry sauce to the Indians, the French were living in Canada with well-nigh Parisian refinement. This may come as a surprise to those who believed Canada to have been discovered in the twenties by thirsty Americans who fought their way through the underbrush, aided by Indian guides armed with hockey-sticks.

Actually, Port Royal, founded by Champlain in 1605 on the present New Brunswick coast, antedated the first English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, by two years. While most Americans were keeping one hand on their scalps, well bred French nuns were already teaching fine embroidery to Indian girls within the confines of the walled city of Quebec on the St. Lawrence River. In the Château St. Louis, candles glowed in silver sconces, as shimmering silk dresses swept lightly over polished floors.

Countries, as well as people, are understood and esteemed in the light of their past. Mrs. Peck has rendered a service by painting in the vivid and grandiose background of Canada's past, alive with intrepidity and solid accomplishment, and setting it in its perspective of centuries. With genuine appreciation and a colorful pen, she evokes the saga of French civilization in America, a unique blend of culture and sturdiness, describes the trading-post empire of the Hudson's Bay Company, the opening up of the West by daring voyages down mighty rivers turbulent with rapids, the gold-rushes in British Columbia, early navigation on the Great Lakes, the great adventure of the transcontinental railway.

This book, written in a facile and arresting style, where the feminine touch shows through occasionally, should contribute much to our understanding of and admiration for our northern neighbors.

P. H. CONWAY

THE MISSIONS MARCH ON

THE GREAT CENTURY IN NORTHERN AFRICA AND ASIA. A.D. 1800—A.D. 1914. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. Harper and Bros. \$4

PROFESSOR Latourette's extensive and intensive work needs no introduction, and this, the sixth volume, is a worthy peer of its predecessors. Copious documentation and the usual detailed bibliography will be appreciated by scholars and students. So, too, will be the narrative, a compilation which presents for the first time in English and in a comprehensive pattern the myriad facts from official sources and from missionary memoirs whose number is legion.

The treatment follows geographical areas, in each of which both the Catholic and Protestant expansionist activities are recounted, while briefer sections delineate the influence of Christianity upon environment, and vice versa. Unlike the success which greeted Christianity's advances to peoples of primitive cultures (vol. V), this volume presents the story of an uphill struggle during the last century. Moslemism, Hinduism and the centuries-

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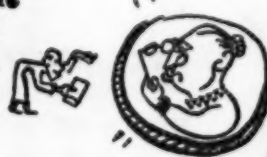
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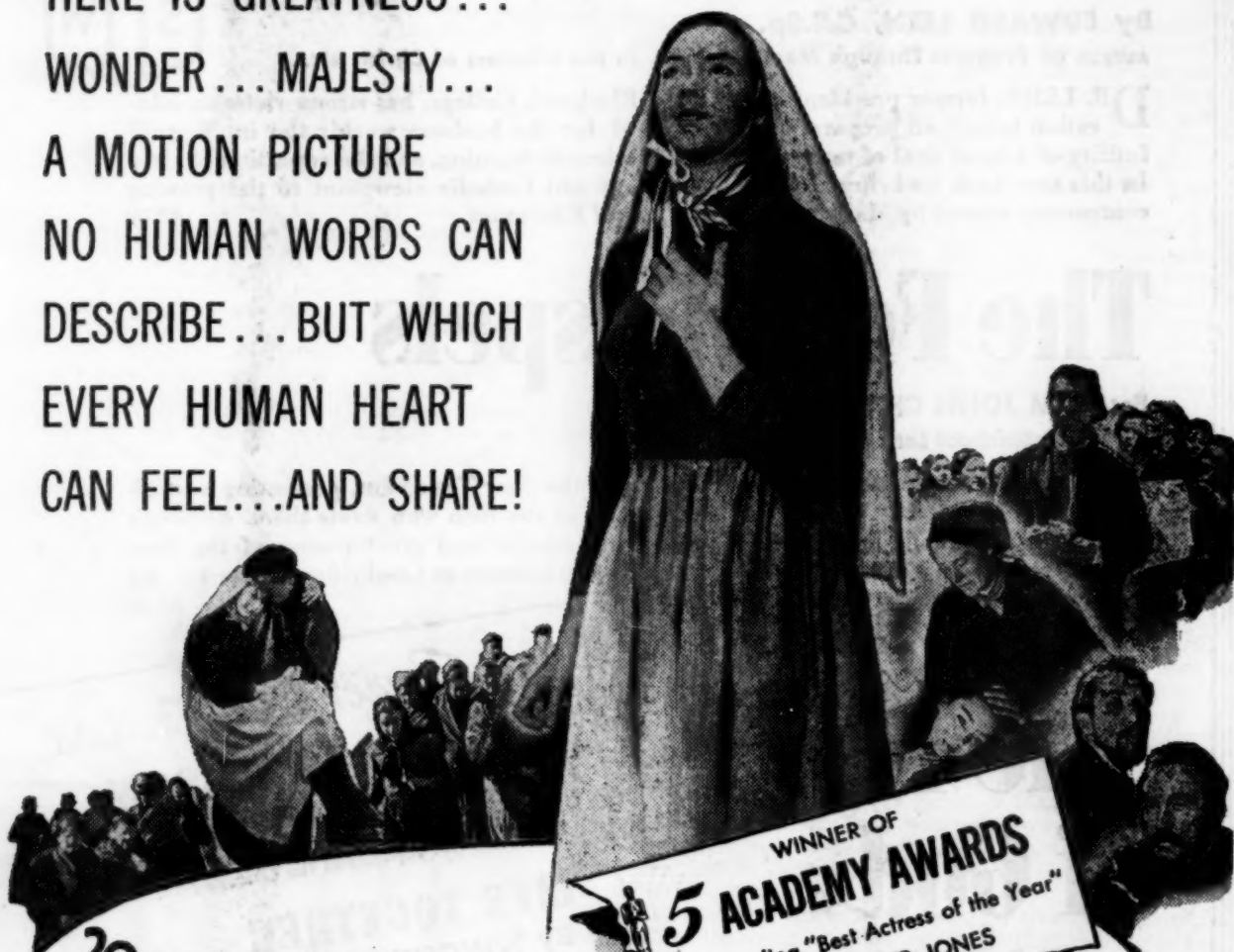


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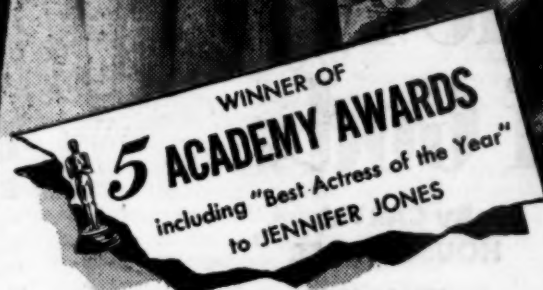
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